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PRESIDENT GRANT.

HIS OFFICIAL RECORD AS A STATESMAN.

EXTRACTS FROM HIS ANNUAL MESSAGES.

[Published by the Republican Congressional Committee, Washington, D. C.]

In pursuance of the affirmative policy which we have marked out for the conduct of the ensuing campaign, we propose to meet the charges that the President is not qualified for the faithful and acceptable discharge of the Presidential functions, by permitting him to speak for himself. We have, therefore, for the convenience of the reader, arranged his utterances in his last three annual messages by topics, so that every citizen may judge for himself of the President's statesmanship. Extracts, without regard to date, have been arranged upon the same topics, which is the severest test to which any political writer can be subjected. So fully has the subject been thought through; so carefully—feeling the full weight of official responsibility—have the words been chosen, that there is a remarkable uniformity of opinion and style. We venture to say that the most expert critic will be unable to discern from which message a given sentiment was taken.

It will be seen that the subjects embraced are numerous, comprising all controverted questions—no concealment or evasion of issue having been attempted. Thus our political foes are either compelled to adopt the identical principles and doctrines herein set forth, and then there can be no other issue than one of personal animosity; or they will be compelled to set up views in opposition thereto. In either case they will not be likely to meet with success. The President has endeared himself personally to the people by his military renown and his unswerving integrity; while his political views are so judicious, humane, and progressive; so eminently safe and considerate, that it will require unusual recklessness and impudence to attempt to refute them.

The only regret we have is that limitation of space has compelled us to cut down the argument in some instances, and to omit his views upon subordinate topics which, in justice to their author, ought to be presented. Imperfect in these respects as this essay is, it is however amply sufficient to demonstrate to all fair-minded men that President Grant is pre-eminently wise and safe in the conduct of public affairs.

THE PRESIDENT'S MILITARY RECORD.

Allusions to General Grant's military achievements seem to be as distasteful to the unrepentant rebels and their allies as the sight of water to the victims of hydrophobia. Those who did their utmost to destroy the American nation, and who only yield obedience to superior force to-day, are of course enraged at the mention of the capture of Vicksburg and Richmond, and the surrender of Lee; while their civilian allies contend that an enumeration of Grant's military achievements is taking an unfair advantage. The former class insist that Grant never was a superior General, while the latter reluctantly concede his military success, but protest that it has no bearing upon a Presidential campaign. We are not disposed to concede this allegation. Grant's military achievements are part of his history and character, and if the opposition have no man of equal renown to pit against him, it is their misfortune and not our fault.

Had the rebellion succeeded a continent would have been split into fragments, and the only great Republic—the light and hope of the peoples of the world—would have gone down in anarchy and confusion. Under Providence we are indebted for national existence itself to General Grant and to the legion of brave men living and dead, who either sacrificed or offered to sacrifice their lives, which is the highest measure of devotion which men can bring to the support of a great cause.

Grant's military career has not only reflected glory and renown upon our nation, but can well be interposed against the accusations of a want of patriotism or general ability. The history of all nations has proved beyond successful contradiction that military success in a long struggle, with a million of men in the field, can only be achieved by men of a high order of intellect. An ignorant man may stumble upon success; but the strategy necessary to the capture of Vicksburg, Richmond, and Lee's army, together with the planning of the Sherman campaign, tested the mental capacity and resources of the Commander-in-Chief of our armies in an unmistakable manner. Justice to him and to our national character demands that the glorious memories of the mutual sufferings and triumphs of the "Boys in Blue," shall be revived, and the roll-call of the guard of honor shall not be neglected.

The President's modesty, which has often induced him to go to the utmost verge of deserting Presidential dignity, to avoid the appearance of arrogance or self-assertion, and his gift of silence in a nation of talkers, have given his personal and political enemies a chance to pursue two lines of argument, which they urge alternately in perfect unconsciousness of their self-contradiction. At one time he is represented as a Sphinx—a scheming plotter in conjunction with an imaginary military ring for the destruction of a nation's liberty; a dangerous vampire, who will transmute the Republic into an empire with Ulysses I. as Emperor; while the next day, perhaps, he is held up as an ignorant tool of designing men, only fit to talk horse and smoke cigars.

The truth is he is a careful, judicious, painstaking man, exceedingly anxious to discharge his duties faithfully, and to execute the legally expressed will of the nation. It is true he assumed the Presidential duties with reluctance and diffidence; but from the day of his inauguration he has not merely sought to learn, but, as we

shall prove, has succeeded in finding the wisest and safest course of progressive statesmanship. With this brief introductory we propose to allow him to speak for himself.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SPHERE OF EXECUTIVE DUTIES.

President Johnson, and a number of his predecessors based the success of their administrations upon a purely legislative basis. They held that the Executive duties were too insignificant to achieve renown; and therefore staked their success upon a legislative policy. President Grant in his inaugural address defined the proper constitutional sphere of the Executive power; and he did it so concisely and completely that nothing can be added or omitted to advantage. The primary duty of the President is the faithful execution of all laws. Thus the Executive power is within its sphere co-ordinate with Congress, and can never be made too strong, because it represents the arm of the Government—the will of the nation legally expressed. The power to recommend is secondary and incidental. The Executive enjoys this right in common with all other citizens. He participates in the legislation of the country only through the veto power, which a President should exercise upon great questions, only in rare instances, and for ample cause.

We propose herewith to give the first two paragraphs of the inaugural address, which contains more substance to the same number of words than any similar document with which we are acquainted:

"Citizens of the United States: Your suffrages having elevated me to the office of President of the United States, I have, in conformity with the Constitution of our country, taken the oath of office prescribed therein. I have taken this oath without mental reservation, with the determination to do to the best of my ability all that it requires of me. The office has come to me unsought. I commence its duties untrammelled. I bring to it a conscientious desire and determination to fill it to the best of my ability to the satisfaction of the people.

"On all leading questions agitating the public mind I will always express my views to Congress, and urge them according to my judgment; and when I think it advisable will exercise the constitutional privilege of interposing a veto to defeat measures which I oppose. But all laws will be faithfully executed, whether they meet my approval or not. I shall on all subjects have a policy to recommend, but none to enforce against the will of the people. Laws are to govern all alike, those opposed to as well as those who favor them. I know no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution."

In coming before you for the first time as Chief Magistrate of this great nation it is with gratitude to the Giver of all good for the many benefits we enjoy; we are blessed with peace at home, and are without entangling alliances abroad to forebode trouble; with a population of forty millions of free people, all speaking one language; with facilities for every mortal to acquire an education; with institutions closing to none the avenues to fame or any blessing of fortune that may be coveted: with freedom of the pulpit, the press, and the school; with a revenue flowing into the national Treasury beyond the requirements of the Government.

These blessings and countless others are intrusted to your care and mine for safe-keeping, for the brief period of our tenure of office. In a short time we must, each of us, return to the ranks of the people who have conferred upon us our honors, and account to them for our stewardship. I earnestly desire that neither you nor I may be condemned by a free and enlightened constituency, nor by our own consciences. On my part, I promise a rigid adherence to the laws, and their strict enforcement.

In addressing my third annual message to the law-making branch of the Government, it is gratifying to be able to state that during the past year success has generally attended the effort to execute all laws found upon the statute books. The policy has been, not to inquire into the wisdom of laws already enacted, but to learn their spirit and intent, and to enforce them accordingly. I submit these suggestions with a confidence that your combined action will be wise, statesmanlike, and in the best interests of the whole country.

EDUCATION.

We place first on the list of topics the subject of education. The President alludes to it on every suitable occasion, and it should be observed that the measure, known as Horner's bill, was first recommended by him in the sentence, "Educational interests may well be served by the grant of the proceeds of the sale of public lands to settlers."

The subjects of education and agriculture are of great interest to the success of our republican institutions, happiness, and grandeur as a nation.

The time-honored and beneficial policy of setting apart certain sections of public land for educational purposes in the new States should be continued.

Educational interest may well be served by the grant of the proceeds of the sale of public lands to settlers. I do not wish to be understood as recommending, in the least degree, a curtailment of what is being done by the General Government for the encouragement of education.

The enlarged receipts of the Post Office Department are an index of the growth of education and of the prosperity of the people, two elements highly conducive to the vigor and stability of Republics.

Education, the ground-work of republican institutions, is encouraged by increasing the facilities to gather speedy news from all parts of the country. The desire to reap the benefit of such improvements will stimulate education.

THE WORKINGMAN.

The workingman is not forgotten. In every message there is a kindly word and the utterance of a striking truth. "Persons before things" is the keynote of his statesmanship when he states: "The true prosperity and greatness of a nation is to be found in the elevation and education of its laborers," a sentence worthy of being placed on our campaign banners.

By the late war the industry of one-half of the country had been taken from the control of the capitalists and placed where all labor rightfully belongs—in the keeping of the laborer.

The freedmen, under the protection which they have received, are making rapid progress in learning, and no complaints are heard of lack of industry on their part where they receive fair remuneration for their labor.

The opinion that the public lands should be regarded chiefly as a source of revenue is no longer maintained. The rapid settlement and successful cultivation of them are now justly considered of more importance to our well-being than is the fund which the sale of them would produce. The remarkable growth and prosperity of our new States and Territories attest the wisdom of the legislation which invites the tiller of the soil to secure a permanent home on terms within the reach of all. The pioneer who incurs the dangers and privations of a frontier life, and thus aids in laying the foundation of new commonwealths, renders a signal service to his country, and is entitled to its special favor and protection. These laws secure that object and largely promote the general welfare. They should, therefore, be cherished as a permanent feature of our land system.

I renew my recommendation that the public lands be regarded as a heritage to our children, to be disposed of only as required for occupation and to actual settlers.

The true prosperity and greatness of a nation is to be found in the elevation and education of its laborers.

AGRICULTURE.

In every message our agricultural interests are favorably mentioned. We extract the following sentences, which are sufficient to indicate his sentiments upon this important subject:

I recommend to your favorable consideration the claims of the Agricultural Bureau for liberal appropriations. In a country so diversified in climate and soil as ours, and with a population so largely dependent upon agriculture, the benefits that can be conferred by properly fostering this bureau are incalculable.

The report of the Commissioner of Agriculture gives the operations of his Department for the year. As agriculture is the ground-work of our prosperity, too much

importance cannot be attached to the labors of this Department. Quietly, but surely, the Agricultural Bureau is working a great national good, and if liberally supported, the more widely its influence will be extended and the less dependent we shall be upon the products of foreign countries.

COMMERCE.

The revival of our foreign commerce, and the increase of facilities in domestic transportation, has commanded the President's earnest attention, and he has been ready to adopt all proper measures to forward these important interests :

The loss of our commerce is the only result of the late rebellion which has not received sufficient attention from you. To this subject I call your earnest attention. The whole nation is interested in securing cheap transportation from the agricultural States of the West to the Atlantic seaboard. To the citizens of those States it secures a greater return for their labor ; to the inhabitants of the seaboard it affords cheaper food ; to the nation, an increase in the annual surplus of wealth.

Our depressed commerce is a subject to which I called your special attention at the last session, and suggested that we will in the future have to look more to the countries south of us, and to China and Japan, for its revival. Our representatives to all these Governments have exerted their influence to encourage trade between the United States and the countries to which they are accredited. But the fact exists that the carrying is done almost entirely in foreign bottoms, and while this state of affairs exists we cannot control our due share of the commerce of the world.

The cost of building iron vessels, the only ones that can compete with foreign ships in the carrying trade, is so much greater in the United States than in foreign countries that, without some assistance from the Government, they cannot be successfully built here. There will be several propositions laid before Congress in the course of the present session looking to a remedy for this evil. Even if it should be at some cost to the national Treasury, I hope such encouragement will be given as will secure American shipping on the high seas and American ship-building at home.

MANUFACTURES—THEY MUST BE ENCOURAGED.

Every citizen will recognize the importance of the suggestions made in reference to our manufactures. The workingmen of America can find no truer friend or more earnest advocate :

Our manufactures are increasing with wonderful rapidity under the encouragement which they now receive. With the improvements in machinery already effected, and still increasing, causing machinery to take the place of skilled labor to a large extent, our imports of many articles must fall off largely within a few years. Fortunately, too, manufactures are not confined to a few localities, as formerly, and it is to be hoped will become more and more diffused, making the interest in them equal in all sections. They give employment and support to hundreds of thousands of people at home, and retain with us the means which otherwise would be shipped abroad. The extension of railroads in Europe and the East is bringing into competition with our agricultural products like products of other countries. Self-interest, if not self-preservation, therefore, dictates caution against disturbing any industrial interest of the country.

TARIFF REFORM.

Since the Tariff Reform question is made a plank in the opposition platform we give the President's views in full, as announced in his two last messages, and bespeak for them a careful perusal. No man can be more heartily in favor of real, practical reform, and not a mere buncombe talk about it, than President Grant :

The tax collected from the people has been reduced more than eighty millions of dollars per annum. By steadiness in our present course, there is no reason why, in a few short years, the national tax-gatherer may not disappear from the door of the citizen almost entirely. With the revenue stamp dispensed by postmasters in every community ; a tax upon liquors of all sorts, and tobacco in all its forms ; and by a wise adjustment of the tariff, which will put a duty only upon those articles which we could dispense with, known as luxuries, and on those which we use more of than we produce, revenue enough may be raised, after a few years of peace and consequent reduction of indebtedness, to fulfill all our obligations. A

further reduction of expenses, in addition to a reduction of interest account may be relied on to make this practicable. Revenue reform, if it means this, has my hearty support. If it implies a collection of all the revenue for the support of Government, for the payment of principal and interest of the public debt, pensions, &c., by directly taxing the people, then I am against revenue reform, and confidently believe the people are with me. If it means failure to provide the necessary means to defray all the expenses of Government, and thereby repudiation of the public debt and pensions, then I am still more opposed to such kind of revenue reform. Revenue reform has not been defined by any of its advocates, to my knowledge; but seems to be accepted as something which is to supply every man's wants without any cost or effort on his part.

A true revenue reform cannot be made in a day; but must be the work of national legislation and of time. As soon as the revenue can be dispensed with, all duty should be removed from coffee, tea, and other articles of universal use not produced by ourselves. The necessities of the country compel us to collect revenue from our imports. An army of assessors and collectors is not a pleasant sight to the citizen, but that or a tariff for revenue is necessary. Such a tariff, so far as it acts as an encouragement to home production, affords employment to labor at living wages, in contrast to the pauper labor of the Old World, and also in the development of home resources.

In readjusting the tariff, I suggest that a careful estimate be made of the amount of surplus revenue collected under the present laws, after providing for the current expenses of the Government, the interest account, and a sinking fund, and that this surplus be reduced in such a manner as to afford the greatest relief to the greatest number. There are many articles not produced at home, but which enter largely into general consumption through articles which are manufactured at home, such as medicines compounded, &c., &c., from which very little revenue is derived, but which enter into general use. All such articles I recommend to be placed on the "free list." Should a further reduction prove advisable, I would then recommend that it be made upon those articles which can best bear it without disturbing home production, or reducing the wages of American labor.

INDIAN POLICY.

The American historian will assign to Grant a high place as the author of a new Indian policy. Having as a soldier, stationed at the outposts, become practically acquainted with these wards of the nation, he alludes to the subject in his inaugural and in every message. No one act of his life can be more creditable than the interest he has taken in these outcasts, from whose good will no personal or political benefits can be reaped. We regret that we have only space for the following:

The policy pursued toward the Indians has resulted favorably, so far as can be judged from the limited time during which it has been in operation. Through the exertions of the various societies of Christians to whom has been intrusted the execution of the policy, and the board of commissioners authorized by the law of April 10, 1869, many tribes of Indians have been induced to settle upon reservations, to cultivate the soil, to perform productive labor of various kinds, and to partially accept civilization. They are being cared for in such a way, it is hoped, as to induce those still pursuing their old habits of life to embrace the only opportunity which is left them to avoid extermination.

I recommend liberal appropriations to carry out the Indian peace policy, not only because it is humane, Christian like, and economical, but because it is right.

"But because it is right," a very excellent sentiment so modestly put that it almost escapes the attention of the casual reader. The close scrutiny of these messages required to make these extracts has forced the conviction upon us that "because it is right," has been the guiding star of the President's career.

PROTECTION TO IMMIGRANTS.

The present Administration is the first that has been earnestly disposed to protect immigrants and naturalized citizens. As special efforts are being made to render the German element dissatisfied we give ample extracts. In addition to the treaties no-

gated, a special agent was dispatched to examine the subject, and the important measure for the better protection of immigrants, now pending in Congress, has the cordial support of the Administration.

The ratification of the consular and naturalization conventions with the Austro-Hungarian Empire have been exchanged.

The ratifications of the naturalization convention between Great Britain and the United States have also been exchanged during the recess; and thus, a long standing dispute between the two Governments has been settled, in accordance with the principles always contended for by the United States.

The unsettled political condition of other countries, less fortunate than our own, sometimes induces their citizens to come to the United States for the sole purpose of becoming naturalized. Having secured this, they return to their native country and reside there, without disclosing their change of allegiance. They accept official positions of trust or honor, which can only be held by citizens of their native land; they journey under passports describing them as such citizens; and it is only when civil discord, after perhaps years of quiet, threatens their persons or their property, or when their native State drafts them into its military service, that the fact of their change of allegiance is made known. I have directed the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States to scrutinize carefully all such claims of protection. The citizen of the United States, whether native or adopted, who discharges his duty to his country, is entitled to its complete protection. While I have a voice in the direction of affairs, I shall not consent to imperil this sacred right by conferring it upon fictitious or fraudulent claimants.

On the accession of the present Administration, it was found that the minister for North Germany had made propositions for the negotiation of a convention for the protection of emigrant passengers, to which no response had been given. It was concluded that, to be effectual, all the maritime Powers engaged in the trade should join in such a measure. Invitations have been extended to the cabinets of London, Paris, Florence, Berlin, Brussels, The Hague, Copenhagen, and Stockholm, to empower their representatives at Washington to simultaneously enter into negotiations, and to conclude with the United States, conventions identical in form, making uniform regulations as to the construction of the parts of vessels to be devoted to the use of emigrant passengers, as to the quality and quantity of food, as to the medical treatment of the sick, and as to the rules to be observed during the voyage, in order to secure ventilation, to promote health, to prevent intrusion, and to protect the females, and providing for the establishment of tribunals in the several countries, for enforcing such regulations by summary process.

The number of immigrants ignorant of our laws, habits, &c., coming into our country annually has become so great, and the impositions practiced upon them so numerous and flagrant, that I suggest Congressional action for their protection. It seems to me a fair subject of legislation by Congress. I cannot now state as fully as I desire the nature of the complaints made by immigrants of the treatment they receive, but will endeavor to do so during the session of Congress, particularly if the subject should receive your attention.

PAYMENT AND REFUNDING OF THE NATIONAL DEBT.

It must be within the recollection of all reading men that, at the time of Grant's inauguration, repudiation was openly advocated, and the wildest theories obtained of how to extinguish the public debt without *paying* it. Already in his inaugural and in every message he insisted upon the prompt reduction of the debt with the happiest results:

The vast resources of the nation, both developed and undeveloped, ought to make our credit the best on earth. With a less burden of taxation than the citizen has endured for six years past, the entire public debt could be paid in ten years. But it is not desirable that the people should be taxed to pay it in that time. Year by year the ability to pay increases in a rapid ratio. But the burden of interest ought to be reduced as rapidly as can be done without the violation of contract. It is believed that all bonds which are now due may be replaced by bonds bearing a rate of interest not exceeding four and a half per cent., and as rapidly as the remainder become due that they may be replaced in the same way. With an acquiescence on the part of the whole people in the national obligation to pay the public debt, created as the

price of our Union; the pensions to our disabled soldiers and sailors, and their widows and orphans; and in the changes to the Constitution which have been made necessary by a great rebellion, there is no reason why we should not advance in material prosperity and happiness, as no other nation ever did, after so protracted and devastating a war. The national debt has been reduced to the extent of eighty-six million dollars during the year, and by the negotiation of national bonds at a lower rate of interest, the interest on the public debt has been so far diminished that now the sum to be raised for the interest account is nearly seventeen million dollars less than on the 1st of March, 1869. It was highly desirable that this rapid diminution should take place, both to strengthen the credit of the country, and to convince its citizens of their entire ability to meet every dollar of liability without bankrupting them. But in view of the accomplishment of these desirable ends; of the rapid development of the resources of the country; its increasing ability to meet large demands, and the amount already paid, it is not desirable that the present resources of the country should continue to be taxed in order to continue this rapid payment. Therefore recommend a modification of both the tariff and internal tax laws. I recommend that all taxes from internal sources be abolished, except those collected from spirituous, vinous, and malt liquors, tobacco in its various forms, and from stamps.

RESUMPTION OF SPECIE PAYMENT.

Among the subjects upon which the President has given no uncertain sound is the gradual resumption of specie payment, and he particularly regrets the demoralization caused by a fluctuating currency:

Among the evils growing out of the rebellion is that of an irredeemable currency. It is an evil which I hope will receive your most earnest attention. It is a duty, and one of the highest duties of Government, to secure to the citizen a medium of exchange of fixed, unvarying value. This implies a return to a specie basis, and no substitute for it can be devised. It should be commenced now and reached at the earliest practicable moment consistent with a fair regard to the interests of the debtor class. I earnestly recommend to you, then, such legislation as will insure a gradual return to specie payments and put an immediate stop to fluctuations in the value of currency. The approach to a specie basis is very gratifying, but the fact cannot be denied that the instability of the value of our currency is prejudicial to our prosperity, and tends to keep up prices to the detriment of trade. The evils of a depreciated and fluctuating currency are so great that now, when the premium on gold has fallen so much, it would seem that the time has arrived when, by wise and prudent legislation, Congress should look to a policy which would place our currency at par with gold at no distant day. Continued fluctuations in the value of gold, as compared with the national currency, has a most damaging effect upon the increase and development of the country in keeping up prices of all articles necessary in every-day life. It fosters a spirit of gambling prejudicial alike to national morals and the national finances. If the question can be met, as to how to give a fixed value to our currency, that value constantly and uniformly approaching par with specie, a very desirable object will be gained.

OUR RELATIONS WITH GERMANY.

Since special efforts have been made to create the impression that the Administration was hostile to Germany in the late war, and did not observe a friendly neutrality, we insert the following narration of facts, which prove that Germany reposed in the United States the greatest confidence which one nation can repose in another—the protection of its citizens:

Soon after the existing war broke out in Europe the protection of the United States minister in Paris was invoked in favor of North Germans domiciled in French territory. Instructions were issued to grant the protection. This has been followed by an extension of American protection to citizens of Saxony, Hesse, and Saxe-Coburg, Gotha, Colombia, Portugal, Uruguay, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Chili, Paraguay, and Venezuela, in Paris. The charge was an onerous one, requiring constant and severe labor as well as the exercise of patience, prudence, and good judgment. It has been performed to the entire satisfaction of this Government, and, as I am officially informed, equally so to the satisfaction of the Government of North Germany.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between France and Germany have enabled me to give directions for the withdrawal of the protection extended to Germans in France by the diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States in that country. It is just to add that the delicate duty of this protection has been performed by the minister and the consul general at Paris, and the various consuls in France under the supervision of the latter, with great kindness as well as with prudence and tact. Their course has received the commendation of the German Government, and has wounded no susceptibility of the French.

The Government of the Emperor of Germany continues to manifest a friendly feeling toward the United States, and a desire to harmonize with the moderate and just policy which this Government maintains in its relations with Asiatic Powers, as well as with the South American Republics. I have given assurances that the friendly feelings of that Government are fully shared by the United States.

OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

To aid in the establishment of free Governments in every part of the globe by our example and moral influence, without meddlesome interference, is laid down as the proper conduct to be pursued :

As the United States is the freest of all nations, so, too, its people sympathize with all peoples struggling for liberty and self-government. But while so sympathizing it is due to our honor that we should abstain from enforcing our views upon unwilling nations, and from taking an interested part, *without invitation*, in the quarrels between different nations or between Governments and their subjects.

The principle is maintained, however, that this nation is its own judge when to accord the rights of belligerency, either to a people struggling to free themselves from a Government they believe to be oppressive, or to independent nations at war with each other.

As soon as I learned that a Republic had been proclaimed at Paris, and that the people of France had acquiesced in the change, the minister of the United States was directed by telegraph to recognize it, and to tender my congratulations and those of the people of the United States. The re-establishment in France of a system of government disconnected with the dynastic traditions of Europe appeared to be a proper subject for the felicitations of Americans. Should the present struggle result in attaching the hearts of the French to our simpler forms of representative government, it will be a subject of still further satisfaction to our people. While we make no effort to impose our institutions upon the inhabitants of other countries, and while we adhere to our traditional neutrality in civil contests elsewhere, we cannot be indifferent to the spread of American political ideas in a great and highly civilized country like France.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

The Monroe Doctrine is fully sustained. European colonies upon the American continent are no longer considered transferable from one Power to another, and their independence is insisted upon whenever the colonial relations cease :

The time is not probably far distant when, in the natural course of events, the European political connection with this continent will cease. Our policy should be shaped, in view of this probability, so as to ally the commercial interests of the Spanish American States more closely to our own, and thus give the United States all the pre-eminence and all the advantage which Mr. Monroe, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Clay contemplated when they proposed to join in the Congress of Panama.

These colonial dependencies are no longer regarded as subject to transfer from one European Power to another. When the present relation of colonies ceases, they are to become independent Powers, exercising the right of choice and of self-control in the determination of their future condition and relation with other Powers.

THE LAND GRANT POLICY.

The land grant policy is fully discussed, and the principle is insisted upon, that the nation has gone far enough, if not too far, in this direction, and that hereafter the national domain must be preserved for the settler :

The policy of aiding the States in building works of internal improvement was inaugurated more than forty years since in the grants to Indiana and Illinois, to aid

those States in opening canals to connect the waters of the Wabash with those of Lake Erie, and the waters of the Illinois with those of Lake Michigan. It was followed, with some modifications, in the grant to Illinois of alternate sections of public land within certain limits of the Illinois Central Railway. Fourteen States and sundry corporations have received similar subsidies in connection with railways completed or in process of construction. As the reserved sections are rated at the double minimum, the sale of them at the enhanced price has thus, in many instances, indemnified the Treasury for the granted lands. The construction of some of these thoroughfares has undoubtedly given a vigorous impulse to the development of our resources and the settlement of the more distant portions of the country. It may, however, be well insisted that much of our legislation in this regard has been characterized by indiscriminate and profuse liberality. The United States should not loan their credit in aid of any enterprise undertaken by States or corporations, nor grant lands in any instance, unless the projected work is of acknowledged national importance.

AMNESTY AND RECONSTRUCTION.

Upon the question of amnesty and reconstruction, the President is as liberal as the utmost self-styled "Liberal Republican" could desire. This exposes the shallow pretext of the disorganizers, who pretend to be dissatisfied with the President's course upon this question:

More than six years having elapsed since the last hostile gun was fired between the armies then arrayed against each other—one for the perpetuation, the other for the destruction, of the Union—it may well be considered whether it is not now time that the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment should be removed. That amendment does not exclude the ballot, but only imposes the disability to hold offices upon certain classes. When the purity of the ballot is secure, majorities are sure to elect officers reflecting the views of the majority. I do not see the advantage or propriety of excluding men from office merely because they were, before the rebellion, of standing and character sufficient to be elected to positions requiring them to take oaths to support the Constitution, and admitting to eligibility those entertaining precisely the same views, but of less standing in their communities. It may be said that the former violated an oath, while the latter did not. The latter did not have it in their power to do so. If they had taken this oath it cannot be doubted they would have broken it as did the former class. If there are any great criminals, distinguished above all others for the part they took in opposition to the Government, they might, in the judgment of Congress, be excluded from such an amnesty. This subject is submitted for your careful consideration.

The condition of the Southern States is, unhappily, not such as all true patriotic citizens would like to see. Social ostracism for opinion's sake, personal violence or threats towards persons entertaining political views opposed to those entertained by the majority of the old citizens, prevent immigration and the flow of much-needed capital into the States lately in rebellion. It will be a happy condition of the country when the old citizens of these States will take an interest in public affairs, promulgate ideas honestly entertained, vote for men representing their views, and tolerate the same freedom of expression and ballot in those entertaining different political convictions.

POLYGAMY—ITS ABROGATION DEMANDED.

The President insists upon the speedy extinction of polygamy in Utah, and exposes in a few words the shallow pretext of the Mormons in considering it a religious rite:

In Utah there still remains a remnant of barbarism, repugnant to civilization, to decency, and to the laws of the United States. Territorial officers, however, have been found who are willing to perform their duty in a spirit of equity and with a due sense of the necessity of sustaining the majesty of the law. Neither polygamy nor any other violation of existing statutes will be permitted within the territory of the United States. It is not with the religion of the self-styled Saints that we are now dealing, but with their practices. They will be protected in the worship of God, according to the dictates of their consciences, but they will not be permitted to violate the laws under the cloak of religion.

A NATIONAL POSTAL TELEGRAPH SYSTEM.

The abolition of the telegraph monopoly, which has made the telegraph, which ought to be as freely used as the mails, inaccessible to the general public, by its exorbitant prices, is earnestly recommended:

The suggestion of the Postmaster General for improvements in the Department presided over by him are earnestly recommended to your special attention. Especially do I recommend favorable consideration for the plan for uniting the telegraphic system of the United States with the postal system. It is believed by such a course the cost of telegraphing could be much reduced, and the service as well, if not better, rendered. It would secure the further advantage of extending the telegraph through portions of the country where private enterprise will not construct it. Commerce, trade, and, above all, the efforts to bring a people widely separated into a community of interest, are always benefited by a rapid intercommunication. Education, the ground-work of republican institutions, is encouraged by increasing the facilities to gather speedy news from all parts of the country. The desire to reap the benefit of such improvements will stimulate education.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

We insert copious extracts from the President's message upon this subject, not only on account of its intrinsic merits, but because the impression is held out that the President is not so earnestly in favor of "all practical reforms," as he professes to be. No one can read these paragraphs, with a desire to discern the truth, but must come to the conclusion that the President has thought earnestly and frequently upon this theme. No man can go beyond him in this respect, for all his acts prove that if he desires anything more than all others it is to render his administration a success by the establishment of a model civil service. In his three messages the same sentiments are repeated with an earnestness that leaves no room for doubt. Only those who are so blinded by disappointment and prejudice that they accuse him of dishonesty and deception, can for a moment believe that he will not give any practical scheme of civil service reform a fair trial:

The subject of compensation to the Heads of Bureaus and officials holding positions of responsibility, and requiring ability and character to fill properly, is one to which your attention is invited. But few of the officials receive a compensation equal to the respectable support of a family, while their duties are such as to involve millions of interest. In private life services demand compensation equal to the services rendered. A wise economy would dictate the same rule in the Government service. The present laws for collecting revenue pay collectors of customs small salaries, but provide for moieties (shares in all seizures) which at principal ports of entry particularly, raise the compensation of those officials to a large sum. It has always seemed to me as if this system must, at times, work perniciouly. It holds out an inducement to dishonest men, should such get possession of those offices, to be lax in their scrutiny of goods entered to enable them finally to make large seizures. Your attention is respectfully invited to this subject.

There has been no hesitation in changing officials in order to secure an efficient execution of the laws, sometimes, too, when, in a mere party view, undesirable political results were likely to follow; nor any hesitation in sustaining efficient officials against remonstrances wholly political.

Always favoring practical reforms, I respectfully call your attention to one abuse of long standing, which I would like to see remedied by this Congress. It is a reform in the civil service of the country. I would have it go beyond the mere fixing of the tenure of office of clerks and employees, who do not require "the advice and consent of the Senate" to make their appointments complete. I would have it govern, not the tenure, but the manner of making all appointments. There is no duty which so much embarrasses the Executive and Heads of Departments as that of appointments; nor is there any such arduous and thankless labor imposed on Senators and Representatives as that of finding places for constituents. The present system does not

secure the best men, and often not fit men, for public place. The elevation and purification of the civil service of the Government will be hailed with approval by the whole people of the United States.

It has been the aim of the Administration to enforce honesty and efficiency in all public offices. Every public servant who has violated the trust placed in him has been proceeded against with all the rigor of the law. If bad men have secured places it has been the fault of the system established by law and custom for making appointments, or the fault of those who recommend for Government positions persons not sufficiently well known to them personally, or who give letters indorsing the characters of office-seekers without a proper sense of the grave responsibility which such a course devolves upon them. A civil service reform which can correct this abuse is much desired. In mercantile pursuit, the business-man who gives a letter of recommendation to a friend, to enable him to obtain credit from a stranger, is regarded as morally responsible for the integrity of his friend, and his ability to meet his obligations. A reformatory law which would enforce this principle against all indorsers of persons for public place would insure great caution in making recommendations. A salutary lesson has been taught the careless and the dishonest public servant in the great number of prosecutions and convictions of the last two years.

It is gratifying to notice the favorable change which is taking place throughout the country in bringing to punishment those who have proven recreant to the trusts confided to them, and in elevating to public office none but those who possess the confidence of the honest and the virtuous, who, it will always be found, comprise the majority of the community in which they live.

THE EXECUTIVE POLICY.

We now come to his definition of the real scope of Executive policy. This "summing up" of Presidential duties and responsibilities is so excellent that comments are superfluous:

On my assuming the responsible duties of Chief Magistrate of the United States, it was with the conviction that three things were essential to its peace, prosperity, and fullest development. First among these, is strict integrity in fulfilling all our obligations. Second, to secure protection to the person and property of the citizen of the United States, in each and every portion of our common country, wherever he may choose to move, without reference to original nationality, religion, color, or politics, demanding of him only obedience to the laws and proper respect for the rights of others. Third, union of all the States—with equal rights—indestructible by any constitutional means.

In conclusion, I would sum up the policy of the Administration to be a thorough enforcement of every law; a faithful collection of every tax provided for; economy in the disbursement of the same; a prompt payment of every debt of the nation; a reduction of taxes as rapidly as the requirements of the country will admit; reductions of taxation and tariff, to be so arranged as to afford the greatest relief to the greatest number; honest and fair dealings with all other peoples, to the end that war, with all its blighting consequences, may be avoided, but without surrendering any right or obligation due to us; a reform in the treatment of Indians, and in the whole civil service of the country; and, finally, in securing a pure, untrammelled ballot, where every man entitled to cast a vote may do so, just once, at each election, without fear, molestation, or proscription on account of his political faith, nativity, or color.

The President has now spoken for himself, and we submit the case without comment to the discriminating judgment of an enlightened and conscientious people, with the sincere conviction that the more extensively this record is circulated, read, and commented upon, the larger will be his majority in November next.



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